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경제학 석사 학위 논문

**The Effect of Culture on the Formation of Gender Role Attitude:
Evidence from First- and Second-Generation Immigrant Women
in South Korea**

2019 년 8 월

서울대학교 대학원

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Abstract

The Effect of Culture on the Formation of Gender Role Attitude: Evidence from First- and Second-Generation Immigrant Women in South Korea

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This study explores the cultural influence on the gender role attitude of first- and second-generation immigrant women in South Korea, a setting with increasing female marriage migration in recent times. I demonstrate that the attitude of a first-generation immigrant is largely affected by her source country culture and becomes more gender equitable following experiences in South Korea, but it is not affected by her South Korean husband as it remains unchanged throughout their marital life. Importantly, culture is closely associated with economic outcomes for both generations. First, culture has significant explanatory power over the work behavior of first-generation immigrant women. Second, the immigrant's culture is transmitted to the second-generation and is reflected in their educational aspirations. However, the gender role attitude of a South Korean husband is insignificant regarding the child's aspirations, implying that the transmission is mainly through the immigrant mother.

Keywords: Gender Role Attitude; Cultural Transmission; Marriage Immigrants.
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1. Introduction

Preferences and beliefs vary substantially by ethnic, racial, and religious groups, and the reason for these differences becomes an important question for social scientists. There are some promising explanations from recent literature, including cultural effects and their intergenerational transmission. With theoretical frameworks for the intergenerational transmission of culture (Bisin & Verdier, 2000, 2001; Fernández, Fogli, & Olivetti, 2004), one line of cultural studies analyzes the behavior of immigrants to disentangle the effect of culture from that of institutions and link the economic outcomes of first- and second- or higher generation immigrants with their cultural origins (e.g., Alesina & Giuliano, 2010; Alesina, Giuliano, & Nunn, 2013; Antecol, 2000; Carroll, Rhee, & Rhee, 1994, 1999; Frank & Hou, 2015; Fernández, 2007; Fernández & Fogli, 2006, 2009; Gevrek, Gevrek, & Gupta, 2013; Giuliano, 2007; Luttmer & Singhal, 2011; Stichnoth & Yeter, 2016). The other line uses survey data on attitude variables and explores intergenerational correlations (e.g., Dhar, Jain, & Jayachandran, 2018; Dohmen, Falk, Huffman, & Sunde, 2011; Farré & Vella, 2013; Johnston, Schurer, & Shields, 2014). These two lines of study are closely related, but are usually analyzed separately in previous literature.

In this paper, I connect the source country culture with the attitude of married immigrant women and identify the cultural effect on both the immigrant's gender role attitude and her economic participation. I also analyze the effect of culture on the formation of a child's, especially the daughter's, educational aspirations, which can be closely associated with her gender role attitude.

Most cultural studies were conducted in American and European countries, and there is comparatively little evidence from Asian countries. I study the relevant topic in the South Korean context, a setting that is worth exploring for several reasons. First, the number of immigrants in South

Korea has been increasing in recent times, as a result of cross-border marriages (Kawaguchi & Lee, 2017).¹ In this context, immigrants have been reported to suffer from poor ethnic networks in Korean society (Kim, 2012; Sung, 2011). As suggested by Fernández and Fogli (2009), this may weaken the effect of culture. In addition, a historical identity as a single ethnic nation causes South Koreans to exclude immigrants or force them to blindly follow Korean culture (Nahm & Jang, 2009), while some studies argue immigrants' acculturation hardships (Hwang, 2015; Kim, 2012; Lee, Kim, & Lee, 2015; Sung, 2011; Yang & Kim, 2011; Yoo, Hong, & Kim, 2008). This type of tradeoff raises a question regarding the patterns of cultural transmission in South Korea.

The findings of this study suggest that culture does not disappear upon an immigrant's settlement, in that the gender role attitudes of immigrants are closely related to the source country characteristics. Moreover, there is a positive assortative mating by gender role attitude in marriage between immigrant women and South Korean husbands, but the husband's attitude does not affect that of the immigrant after their intermarriage. Although an immigrant becomes more gender-egalitarian if she has lived in South Korea for longer, the attitude is not affected by the duration of the marriage, and a couple's attitude does not become similar during their marital life. In addition, as previous literature has suggested, the work behavior of immigrant women is also largely affected by their cultural origins. Daughters, who are the second-generation immigrants, desire higher educational attainment if an immigrant mother is from a gender-egalitarian country or if her individual attitude is in favor of gender equality. However,

¹ In 2007, there were about 0.7 million immigrants in South Korea, which accounted for only 1.5% of the entire South Korean population. In just eight years, the number almost doubled, increasing to about 1.7 million and accounting for 3.4% of the entire population (Korean Statistical Information Service).

the attitude of the husband has almost no impact on the higher-education aspirations of daughters.

2. Data

The main data set for this study is the National Survey of Multicultural Families 2015 (NSMF 2015), which is cross-sectional data collected in 2015. Similar surveys were carried out in 2009 and 2012, but those versions do not provide either full information regarding an immigrant's country of origin or gender role attitude responses. Therefore, the 2015 version is the only data set available to identify immigrants by countries of origin and exploit gender role attitude variable. The NSMF 2015 collected 17,849 multicultural household observations. The individual data consisted of 17,109 immigrants, 15,540 spouses, and 6,079 children aged 9 to 24 years.

For my empirical analysis, I construct two samples, one for “*Immigrant Data*” and the other for “*Children Data*.” First, to construct *Immigrant Data*, I merge the information on household, husband, and children into immigrant data. Since most female marriage immigrants marry South Korean husbands, I drop immigrant women who marry other immigrants from the sample. I also restrict the age range of my sample to avoid some concerns. Young women who are students are not likely to work, and older women may have already retired from their workplace, which makes it hard to identify the cultural effect on their economic participation. Thus, my sample consists of married women in the age group of 30–50 years who are free from these concerns. Moreover, to focus on the first-generation immigrants, I exclude women who left their own country before they were 15 years of age from the sample. This cut-off is common in the migration literature (e.g., Milewski, 2007; Stichnoth & Yeter, 2016).²

² Immigrants who immigrated before the age of 15 years are usually classified into 1.5-

Immigrant women or their spouses who are unpaid workers, and women who work in agriculture, forestry, or fisheries are also excluded in order to clearly identify the cultural effect. I also exclude the countries with less than 15 observations.

The NSMF 2015 children data have 6,079 observations of those aged 9–24 years. To construct *Children Data*, since my objective is to analyze their aspirations for education, I additionally restrict the sample to children aged 9 to 17 years to focus on children who are at most high school students and whose education level is therefore not determined.³ Then, I again exclude countries with less than 15 observations.

The data sets collected on earnings and incomes comprise 12 and 8 categories, respectively.⁴ Thus, when I use this information in the empirical analysis, I take the midpoint of each category and calculate these values as a continuous variable. An immigrant's ability in terms of writing, speaking, reading, and listening to the Korean language was also examined for five categories in the survey. I assign 1 to 5 for each category, where 1 represents higher language ability and 5 represents lower ability. I sum all the assigned numbers of the answers in four sections (writing, speaking, reading, and listening) and classify immigrants as being good at Korean with assigning 1 if the sum is less than 10 (about 45% of the sample), and not good at Korean otherwise with assigning 0 (about 55% of the sample). The key variables, that is, responses for gender role attitude (Immigrant

generation.

³ This is because most South Korean students enter high school. In 2015, the enrolment rate for high school was about 99.7% (Korean Educational Development Institute).

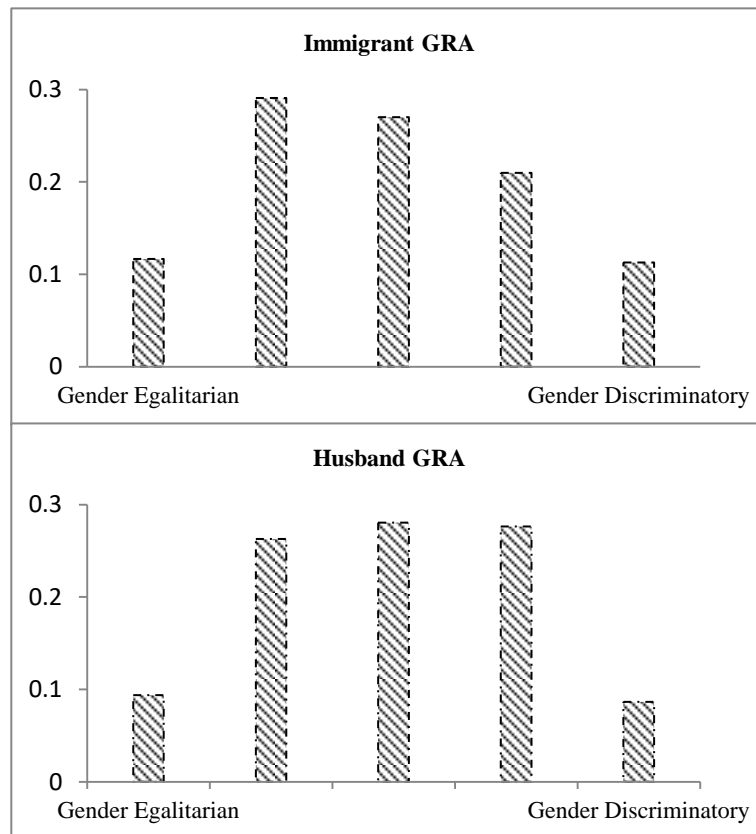
⁴ Categories for earnings are "0," "0–500,000 won," "500,000–1,000,000 won," "1,000,000–1,500,000 won," "1,500,000–2,000,000 won," "2,000,000–3,000,000 won," "3,000,000–4,000,000 won," "4,000,000–5,000,000 won," "5,000,000–6,000,000 won," "6,000,000–7,000,000 won," "7,000,000–8,000,000 won," "8,000,000–9,000,000 won," "9,000,000–10,000,000 won," and "more than 10,000,000 won." Those for incomes are "0–1,000,000 won," "1,000,000–2,000,000 won," "2,000,000–3,000,000 won," "3,000,000–4,000,000 won," "4,000,000–5,000,000 won," "5,000,000–6,000,000 won," "6,000,000–7,000,000 won," "7,000,000–8,000,000 won," "8,000,000–9,000,000 won," "9,000,000–10,000,000 won," and "more than 10,000,000 won." Won is the South Korean monetary unit. 1 dollar is roughly equivalent to 1,000 won.

GRA) are assessed in five scales. Respondents were asked to rate the following statement:

“A man's role is to earn money and a woman's role is to take care of family members.”

The responses are “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Indifferent,” “Agree,” and “Strongly agree.” I assign 0, 0.25, 0.5, 0.75, and 1 to these responses, where 0 indicates gender-egalitarian and 1 indicates gender-discriminatory attitude. Figure 1 presents the distribution of the immigrant and her husband’s gender role attitude in the sample.

Figure 1: Distribution of Individual Gender Role Attitude



Source: National Survey of Multicultural Families 2015.

The proxy of culture representing the average attitude of people in the source country is adopted from the World Value Survey (WVS). The

WVS provides data in six waves.⁵ I use Wave 5 and Wave 6 because in these waves, most of the countries in the NSMF 2015 have responses to the question that I am interested in. Surveys of Wave 5 and Wave 6 were conducted in 2005–2014, and the sample average of immigration year in *Immigrant Data*, and *Children Data* are 2006, 2001, respectively. I assume that the average attitude from Wave 5 and Wave 6 reflects the culture of the source country, which may be possible if culture evolves slowly over the time period.⁶ Respondents were asked to rate the following statement:

“When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.”

Table 1
Summary Statistics (Country of Origin)

Country	Observations		Immigrant GRA		Husband GRA		WVS GRA
	Immigrant Data	Children Data	Immigrant Data	Children Data	Immigrant Data	Children Data	
China	1755	577	0.44	0.41	0.49	0.49	0.06
Taiwan	112	39	0.44	0.49	0.49	0.54	0.10
Indonesia	70	32	0.57	0.52	0.52	0.41	0.14
Japan	838	781	0.45	0.45	0.52	0.58	0.14
Kazakhstan	26	15	0.58	0.60	0.48	0.42	0.17
Kyrgyzstan	56	22	0.44	0.37	0.49	0.35	0.21
Philippines	630	403	0.54	0.49	0.49	0.52	0.26
Thailand	320	160	0.51	0.47	0.50	0.51	0.02
Uzbekistan	173	75	0.53	0.42	0.58	0.54	0.26
Viet Nam	751	149	0.54	0.52	0.51	0.51	0.10
Russia	138	50	0.45	0.39	0.52	0.55	0.03
Malaysia	15	-	0.48	-	0.52	-	0.22
Canada	15	-	0.15	-	0.17	-	-0.21
United States	42	-	0.26	-	0.29	-	-0.22
Hong Kong	15	-	0.52	-	0.60	-	0.00
Mean	-	-	0.48	0.46	0.50	0.51	0.10
Standard Deviation	-	-	0.06	0.05	0.03	0.04	0.08

Note: Immigrant GRA is the simple weighted average of an immigrant’s individual gender role attitude from the National Survey of Multicultural Families 2015. Husband GRA is that of an immigrant’s husband. WVS GRA is the country-representative gender role attitude, which is calculated as marginal effects from the World Value Survey.

Sources: National Survey of Multicultural Families 2015, World Value Survey.

In Wave 5 and Wave 6, individuals from 15 countries in *Immigrant Data* and 11 countries in *Children Data* responded to the statement.

⁵ Survey periods of each wave are as follows. Wave 1: 1981–1984, Wave 2: 1990–1994, Wave 3: 1995–1998, Wave 4: 1999–2004, Wave 5: 2005–2009, Wave 6: 2010–2014.

⁶ Similar assumptions were used in Fernández (2007) and Fernández and Fogli (2009).

Respondents to the WVS selected one answer from among four choices, “Agree,” “Disagree,” “Neither,” and “Don’t know.” I coded “Agree” to 1, “Disagree” to 0, and “Neither” to 0.5; the individuals who answered “Don’t know” are dropped. I also drop male respondents from the sample to clearly reflect the women’s attitude. To extract the country representative value from this variable, I use this as a dependent variable and run a regression at the individual level with country dummies. In the regression, I control for age and its squared, marital status, income decile, and education level. The omitted country is Hong Kong. In the regression, although I do not present it in the paper, most of the country dummy coefficients are significant, indicating that after controlling for the basic individual characteristics, there is still a cross-country variation of women’s gender role attitude. I extract the country dummy coefficients from the regression and take this marginal effect as country representative variables (WVS GRA).⁷ My final sample consists of 4956 observations from 15 countries in *Immigrant Data* and 2303 observations from 11 countries in *Children Data*.

Table 1 reports the summary statistics at the country level. For *Immigrant Data*, 12 out of 15 countries are Asian, one is European (Russia), and two are American (Canada and United States). As expected, WVS GRA varies dramatically, from -0.22 for the United States to 0.26 for the Philippines and Uzbekistan. Immigrants’ gender role attitude and that of their husbands at the country level also vary across countries and the pattern of variations resembles that of WVS GRA. Immigrants from American countries and their spouses display the most gender-egalitarian attitude while those from South East Asian countries present a gender-discriminatory attitude. The number of observations decreases in *Children*

⁷ A similar process was conducted in Fernández (2007).

Data but average attitude variables by country present a similar pattern to that of *Immigrant Data*.

Table 2 presents the individual-level summary statistics. Immigrant women in the *Immigrant Data* are on average 37.92 years old and have lived in South Korea for around 10 years. A total of 57% of them participated in the workplace and worked 22.77 hours per week. Average educational attainment of immigrants is very similar to that of their husbands. High school graduates account for the largest proportion, and the proportion of 4-year college graduates is about 20%. In *Children Data*, the average age of children is 12.19 and that of immigrant mothers is 40.21, which is slightly higher than in the *Immigrant Data*. Most other variables have similar patterns and values in both data sets.

Table 2
Summary Statistics

Immigrant Data			Children Data		
Variables	Mean	Standard Deviation	Variables	Mean	Standard Deviation
Immigrant Work	0.57	0.50	Child Age	12.19	2.56
Immigrant Hours Worked per Week	22.77	23.21	Daughter=1	0.49	0.50
Years of Residence	9.94	4.81	Years of Residence	14.06	4.31
Immigrant Age	37.92	5.88	Immigrant Age	40.21	5.52
Husband Age	47.56	6.69	Immigrant Middle school-	0.22	0.41
Immigrant Middle school-	0.26	0.44	Immigrant High school	0.45	0.50
Immigrant High school	0.41	0.49	Immigrant College 2yr	0.17	0.37
Immigrant College 2yr	0.13	0.33	Immigrant College 4yr+	0.17	0.37
Immigrant College 4yr+	0.20	0.40	Husband Middle school-	0.25	0.43
Husband Middle school-	0.18	0.38	Husband High school	0.56	0.50
Husband High school	0.53	0.50	Husband College 2yr	0.08	0.27
Husband College 2yr	0.11	0.31	Husband College 4yr+	0.12	0.32
Husband College 4yr+	0.18	0.39	log Household Income	5.61	0.50
log Husband Income	5.40	0.48	Child Number of Sibling	2.12	0.85
Immigrant Language Ability (Korean)	0.45	0.50	Immigrant Work	0.67	0.47
Immigrant Citizenship=1	0.46	0.50	Live in City=1	0.72	0.45
Live in City=1	0.76	0.43	Child Lived Abroad=1	0.33	0.47
Child0-3	0.27	0.45	Child Desired High school	0.08	0.28
Child4-6	0.28	0.45	Child Desired College 2yr	0.26	0.44
Immigrant GRA	0.48	0.30	Child Desired College 4yr	0.55	0.50
Husband GRA	0.50	0.28	Child Desired Master	0.04	0.19
Marriage Duration	8.69	4.68	Child Desired Ph.D.	0.07	0.26
			Immigrant GRA	0.46	0.29
			Husband GRA	0.51	0.27

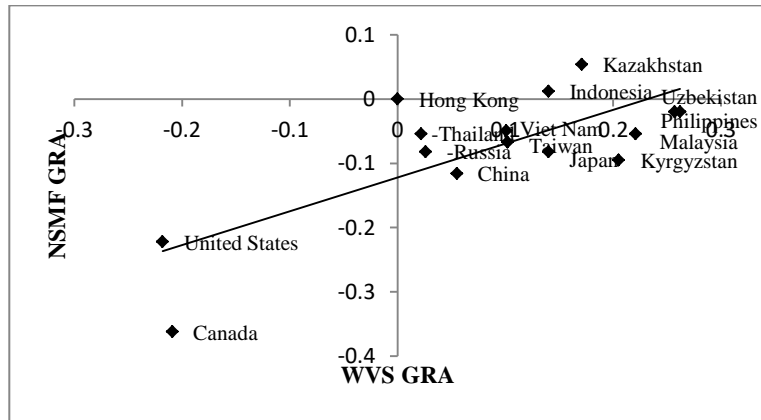
Source: National Survey of Multicultural Families 2015.

3. The Formation of Immigrants' Attitude

3.1. Descriptive Evidence

First, I explore whether the variation of immigrants' gender role attitude across countries of origin is closely associated with the source country culture. To check the correlation graphically, I calculate marginal effects from gender role attitude in NSMF 2015 by following the same procedure⁸ as with the WVS GRA and present the marginal effects from the two data sets.

Figure 2: Country-representative Gender Role Attitude from WVS and NSMF 2015



Sources: National Survey of Multicultural Families 2015, World Value Survey.

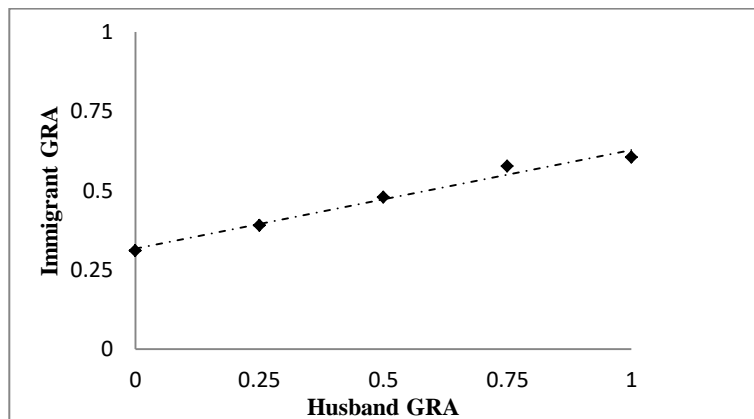
Figure 2 presents a positive correlation for women's views on gender role between the two data sets. Although the NSMF 2015 considers the immigrants who left their countries of origin, the country-level correlation is about 0.76. Even when excluding the non-Asian countries

⁸ The procedure includes an individual-level regression with the country dummies. Control variables are the immigrant's and husband's educational level, log of husband's income, dummy for the presence of a child under the age of 3 years and a child aged between 4 and 6 years, immigrant's age, husband's age, immigrant's years of residence in South Korea and their squared, immigrant's Korean language ability, dummy for acquiring Korean nationality, and dummy for living in a city.

(Russia, the United States, and Canada), which represent high gender equality levels, the correlation remains at 0.72. In this regard, Figure 2 has an important implication. There is a large variation in views on gender role across countries, with the immigrants having an attitude that is similar to that of people in their countries of origin. If the immigrants can rapidly assimilate into the South Korean culture, follow their husband's gender norms, or if the cross-country variations of gender norms are not attributed to the cultural differences, then there is no reason for this pattern to be presented.

Although an immigrant's attitude is associated with source country culture, it may also be developed in South Korea. If this is the case, the main channel would be interaction with her husband, because marriage immigrants have limited social networks in South Korea; they are usually dependent on their family members (Kim, 2012; Sung, 2011).

Figure 3: Immigrant and Husband's Gender Role Attitudes



Source: National Survey of Multicultural Families 2015.

Figure 3 provides a first look at the relationship between the immigrant's gender role attitude and that of her husband. Each point indicates the average attitude of immigrants in relation to the given attitude

of their husbands. The figure shows that the attitude of marriage immigrants and South Korean husbands are positively correlated. There are two possible explanations for this pattern. First, there is a possibility that couples subsequently developed similar attitudes after their marriage by interacting with each other. Otherwise, the pattern can also be explained by a positive assortative mating, implying that an immigrant married a man who already had attitudes similar to her own.

3.2. Regression Results

In this section, I explore the relationships of an immigrant's attitude with her cultural origin and husband's attitude after controlling basic individual characteristics. As NSMF 2015 is cross-sectional data, I exploit the duration of marriage reported in the data to verify the interaction with the husband.

I run a regression with the following model:

$$GRA_{ij}^{Immigrant} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 GRA_{ij}^{Husband} + \beta_2 t_{ij} + \beta_3 (t_{ij} \times GRA_{ij}^{Husband}) + \beta_4 C_j + x'_{ij} \beta_5 + \xi_{ij} \quad (1)$$

where t_{ij} is the duration of marriage of immigrant i from country j , x'_{ij} is the individual characteristics of an immigrant and her husband, and C_j is the country dummy or cultural proxy (WVS GRA) depending on the model specification. I add the interaction term of the duration and husband's gender role attitude (Husband GRA). If the couple's preferences regarding the appropriate role of women become similar with longer marital life or the attitude of the immigrant changes with the duration of marriage, it means that the husband affects the formation of the immigrant's attitude, making the interaction or duration term significant.

Table 3
Formation of Immigrants' Gender Role Attitude

	Immigrant GRA							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
WVS GRA	0.436*** (0.100)					0.408*** (0.082)		
Husband GRA		0.338*** (0.040)	0.320*** (0.038)	0.336*** (0.038)	0.319*** (0.036)	0.329*** (0.035)	0.315*** (0.060)	0.299*** (0.064)
Duration		-0.005 (0.003)	-0.006** (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.000 (0.002)		
Duration × Husband GRA		-0.001 (0.004)	0.000 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.000 (0.004)	-0.000 (0.004)		
Years of Residence				-0.013** (0.005)	-0.011** (0.005)	-0.011** (0.005)	-0.035 (0.020)	-0.020 (0.015)
Years of Residence^2				0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
Immigrant Age	-0.002 (0.006)	-0.008 (0.007)	0.005 (0.010)	-0.005 (0.005)	0.007 (0.007)	-0.002 (0.007)	-0.007 (0.032)	-0.017 (0.034)
Immigrant Age^2	-0.001 (0.007)	0.009 (0.008)	-0.005 (0.011)	0.006 (0.005)	-0.007 (0.008)	0.002 (0.007)	0.008 (0.042)	0.023 (0.045)
Living in the City=1	-0.027** (0.010)	-0.029** (0.010)	-0.013 (0.010)	-0.028** (0.011)	-0.013 (0.010)	-0.021** (0.009)	-0.059 (0.045)	-0.038 (0.045)
Constant	0.539*** (0.141)	0.548*** (0.157)	0.223 (0.192)	0.522*** (0.127)	0.218 (0.159)	0.418** (0.181)	0.660 (0.655)	0.724 (0.653)
Country Dummy	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Duration≤2	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	4,956	4,956	4,956	4,956	4,956	4,956	365	365
Adjusted R-squared	0.018	0.107	0.131	0.112	0.134	0.122	0.135	0.178

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Note: Duration stands for the duration of marriage (unit is year). Robust standard errors in parentheses account for clustering at the country level.

Sources: National Survey of Multicultural Families 2015, World Value Survey.

Table 3 presents the regression results based on the above discussion with *Immigrant Data*. In all columns, the immigrant's age and its squared, and a dummy for living in a city are included.⁹ In column 1, the basic regression of individual attitude on culture is presented, and culture is positive and significant at the 1% level. For control variables, an immigrant who lives in a city has more gender-egalitarian views. In column 2, I regress the immigrant's attitude on the husband's attitude and its interaction term with the duration of marriage after controlling demographic variables. The

⁹ Because of reverse causality issues, I do not include other socio-demographic variables such as earnings, educational level, Korean language ability, and so on. However, even if I include them in the model, the results of this section do not change.

result suggests that husband's gender role attitude is positive and significant at the 1% level. The magnitude of the interaction term is almost zero, implying couple's attitudes do not become similar over their marital life. I additionally include country dummies in column 3 to control unobserved heterogeneities that possibly arise from different countries of origin. After controlling these heterogeneities, the magnitude of attitude correlation remains almost the same and the city residence dummy becomes insignificant. More importantly, however, the duration of marriage term becomes negatively significant. We should be cautious as to how to interpret this. If immigrants' views become gender equitable given their longer marital life, it is natural to expect that this is affected by their husbands, making correlation with their husbands higher. However, in column 3, this is not the case and raises another possibility. Since a marriage immigrant's years of residence in South Korea is related with her duration of marriage, a negative sign of the duration term may capture the effect not from her marital life, but from her experiences in South Korea. To check this hypothesis, in column 4, I include years of residence in South Korea and its squared term in the specification of column 2. Column 4 shows that the years of residence term is negatively significant, and it captures the effect of the duration of marriage. In column 5, I also include country dummies in the specification of column 4, and all the control variables except immigrant's years of residence are statistically insignificant. The correlation of immigrant's and husband's gender role attitude is still highly significant with a similar magnitude. Both duration of marriage and its interaction with the husband's attitude are insignificant with their magnitudes very close to zero. This result implies that although an immigrant's attitude becomes more gender-egalitarian with her residence in South Korea, it is not affected by her husband, and couples who have had longer marital life do not have more similar views on gender roles. In

column 6, I include a cultural proxy (WVS GRA) in place of country dummies to check the cultural effect on an immigrant's attitude after controlling basic characteristics and husband's attitude. In this column, the husband's attitude and interaction term shows the same pattern as the previous column and the cultural proxy is positive and significant at the 1% level. Moving from the culture of the most gender-egalitarian country to a culture of the most gender-discriminatory country is associated with a 0.2 point increase of individual gender role attitude, which is about two-thirds of the individual gender role attitude variations.

Regarding the correlation with husband's attitude, there remains a possibility that couples already developed similar attitudes in a short period of time after their marriage. If this is the case, the interaction term cannot capture this. Thus, in column 7, I restrict the sample to couples in their first or second years of marriage. Column 8 includes the country dummies in the specification of column 7. In columns 7–8, the positive relationship between the immigrant's and husband's attitude still exists, though the magnitude slightly decreases, ruling out the possibility that attitude was jointly formed in a short period of time. Therefore, I conclude that the effect of husband's attitude on an immigrant's attitude is not influential and a positive relationship is attributed to assortative mating by gender role attitude. Moreover, as we can see in column 6, individual responses of gender role attitude in NSMF 2015 are largely affected by source country culture. Thus, individual attitude is more likely to be formed in their cultural origins combined with their experiences in South Korea, rather than developed in their marital life.

4. The Effect of Culture on Economic Outcomes

4.1. *Economic Participation of First-generation Immigrants*

The cultural component from the country of origin is inherent in immigrants' attitudes, but does culture really affect their real-life decisions? Or is it reflected only in the individual's attitude? Although it is a stylized fact that cultural origins lead to systematically different economic outcomes, I am going to verify this in the South Korean setting. Similar to previous studies, I estimate the following model:

$$y_{ij} = \theta_0 + \theta_1 WVSGRA_j + x'_{ij}\theta_2 + u_{ij} \quad (2)$$

where y_{ij} is a variable related to immigrants' economic participation. $WVSGRA_j$ is the proxy of culture constructed from WVS, and x'_{ij} is a set of individual characteristics including age, educational level, husband's information, and so on. Because of a reverse causality concern, I do not include the individual gender role attitude.

Table 4 shows the result of estimating equation (2) with *Immigrant Data*. The dependent variable for columns 1–3 is participation decision representing extensive margin, and I run logistic regressions. The dependent variable for columns 4–6 is hours worked per week representing intensive margin, and I run tobit regressions. In all specifications, the immigrant's age, husband's age, immigrant's years of residence in South Korea and their squared, and dummy for living in a city are included. In columns 1 and 4, the coefficient of culture is negative and significant at the 10% and 5% levels, respectively, indicating that a woman whose source country represents a gender-egalitarian culture has higher probability of participating in the workplace and working more hours.

In columns 2 and 5, I additionally include the immigrant's Korean language ability, a dummy for acquiring Korean nationality¹⁰, and a dummy for her level of education, all of which reflect human capital possibly related to work behavior. Controlling the immigrant's human capital is important because if immigrants who have higher human capital have more incentive to work, and if human capital accumulation is easier and less costly for an immigrant from the gender-egalitarian country, then a cultural proxy may capture this correlation and exaggerate the effect of culture.

The regression results show that if an immigrant acquired Korean nationality, both participation decision and work hours increase, while Korean ability is insignificant. Coefficients of educational level dummies are confounding in that higher educational level does not induce them to work more, and 2-year college graduates tend to work less than other educational levels. After controlling the immigrant's human capital, the magnitude of culture decreases, as predicted, but it still remains negatively significant.

In columns 3 and 6, I add household characteristics including husband's educational level dummies, his earnings, and a dummy for the presence of a child aged 0–3 years, and aged 4–6 years. Including these variables allows us to consider marriage and fertility decisions related to immigrant's work behavior and her culture. For marriage decision, there may be assortative mating by educational level. If this is the case, a husband with higher education level and earnings marries a more educated immigrant, which can be correlated with a gender-egalitarian culture. Considering income effect on female labor supply, higher educational level and earnings of husbands may decrease the immigrant's incentive to work, and all these correlations would cause downward bias for the cultural effect. For fertility

¹⁰ Korean language ability and nationality acquisition are used to control the immigrant's human capital in Kang and Lee (2012) and Cho and Min (2017).

decision, as it is likely to be simultaneously determined with work behavior, I do not include the number of children, but instead include presence of a child dummies, following Fernández and Fogli (2009). Rearing a child tends to deter woman from working, and since women with a gender-egalitarian perspective may want to work more rather than take care of her child, including child dummies will capture the correlation between culture and work behavior caused by the different fertility decisions.

The results indicate that women with more-educated and higher-earning husbands tend to work less and this is explained by the income effect on female labor supply. Child dummies decrease female labor supply, but this has to be interpreted with caution because of simultaneity between work and fertility decisions. The coefficients of the immigrant's education increase in all levels, implying that assortative mating by education exists between immigrant couples. The magnitude of cultural proxy increases compared to columns 2 and 4 and is statistically significant at the 1% level.

In column 3, the marginal effect of WVS GRA is -0.244. Thus, moving from the culture of the most gender-discriminatory country to that of the most gender-egalitarian country is associated with an 11.7 ($=0.244*0.48$) percentage point increase in the probability of labor market participation, which accounts for 20.6% ($=11.7/56.9$) of participation probability. In column 6, moving from the most gender-discriminatory culture to the most gender-egalitarian culture is associated with an increase of 17.11 ($=35.654*0.48$) hours per week, which accounts for 75.2% ($=17.11/22.77$) of average hours worked. Therefore, in the South Korean context, culture also has large and significant explanatory power over an immigrant's work behavior after controlling individual and household characteristics.

Table 4
Work and Culture

	Logit			Tobit		
	Work			Hours Worked per Week		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
WVS GRA	-1.213* (0.669)	-0.960** (0.441)	-1.133*** (0.385)	-47.531** (18.628)	-32.983** (13.444)	-35.654*** (10.931)
Korean Language Ability		0.011 (0.096)	0.010 (0.109)		0.454 (1.974)	0.438 (2.135)
Korean Nationality=1		0.425*** (0.127)	0.362*** (0.091)		8.921*** (3.103)	7.353*** (2.163)
Immigrant High school		-0.173** (0.071)	-0.075 (0.077)		-5.377*** (1.538)	-3.543** (1.452)
Immigrant College 2yr		-0.302*** (0.091)	-0.122* (0.067)		-12.949*** (2.243)	-9.358*** (1.695)
Immigrant College 4yr+		-0.048 (0.155)	0.219 (0.149)		-10.325*** (3.226)	-4.840* (2.735)
Husband High school			-0.280*** (0.064)			-3.428*** (0.934)
Husband College 2yr			-0.429*** (0.096)			-6.399*** (1.627)
Husband College 4yr+			-0.443*** (0.108)			-8.442*** (2.150)
Log Husband Income			-0.138*** (0.028)			-2.309*** (0.446)
Child0—3			-1.084*** (0.126)			-22.079*** (1.808)
Child4—6			-0.242*** (0.044)			-5.391*** (0.644)
Constant	0.920 (1.791)	1.615 (2.120)	4.248** (2.047)	5.411 (25.377)	33.632 (30.613)	91.750*** (27.064)
Observations	4,956	4,956	4,956	4,956	4,956	4,956
Pseudo R-squared	0.044	0.051	0.093	0.013	0.017	0.028

* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01.

Note: The immigrant's age, husband's age, immigrant's years of residence in South Korea and their squared, and dummy for living in a city are included in all specifications. For both immigrant's and husband's education, lower than middle school graduate is the control. Robust standard errors in parentheses account for clustering at the country level.

Sources: National Survey of Multicultural Families 2015, World Value Survey.

4.2. Intergenerational Transmission of Culture

In this section, I explore the effect of an immigrant mother's culture on the attitude of her children. Unfortunately, children were not asked about their gender role attitude, which makes it impossible to compare the attitudes of the first- and second-generation immigrants directly. Moreover, labor supply or completed educational level of the second-generation immigrants

in South Korea cannot be analyzed because most of them are too young.¹¹ Therefore, I adopt an indirect approach and examine whether the immigrants' attitude affects their children's attitude.

In NSMF 2015, the children aged 9 to 24 years are asked their desired level of education, and I exploit responses from this question. The desired level of education is classified in five categories: "High school graduate," "2-year college graduate," "4-year college graduate," "Master's degree," "Ph.D." My prediction is that if parents have a conservative culture regarding the role of women, a daughter affected by this culture would have a lower desired level of education. This is because a girl with parents with conservative views on gender role would believe that when she grows up, her role in the family would be to take care of the family members rather than to work and earn money. Therefore, if she developed this kind of gender role attitude, she would have less motivation to spend time and money to accumulate her own human capital.

As the desired educational level is given in five categories, I run an ordered logit regression for the analysis. Table 5 presents the regression results. Columns 1–3 are results from daughters and columns 4–6 are results from sons. In all columns, the dummy for economic participation by an immigrant mother, educational level dummies for an immigrant and her husband, log household income, and number of siblings are reported. The ages of the child, the immigrant, and the husband, the immigrant's years of residence in South Korea and their squared, a dummy for living in a city, and a dummy for child's experience of living abroad are also included in all specifications.

In columns 1 and 4, a cultural proxy is included in the model and it is negatively significant only for daughters. The direction of the proxy is

¹¹ As previously mentioned, immigration to South Korea is a very recent phenomenon.

also negative for sons, but the magnitude is almost one-sixth that of the daughter's. Importantly, the differential effect of maternal attitude on daughters and sons implies that the result is not driven by unobserved heterogeneity (Johnston et al., 2014).

Table 5
Ordered Logit for Desired Level of Education

	Desired Level of Education					
	Daughter			Son		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
WVS GRA	-2.969*		-2.841*	-0.518		-0.538
	(1.655)		(1.616)	(0.705)		(0.661)
Immigrant GRA		-0.209**	-0.303**		-0.101	-0.047
		(0.094)	(0.119)		(0.208)	(0.231)
Husband GRA		0.116	0.110		-0.171	-0.165
		(0.201)	(0.180)		(0.331)	(0.344)
Immigrant Work	-0.130	-0.097	-0.138	-0.082	-0.126	-0.097
	(0.233)	(0.220)	(0.231)	(0.120)	(0.106)	(0.116)
Immigrant High school	0.142	0.003	0.138	-0.082	0.026	-0.082
	(0.154)	(0.154)	(0.144)	(0.135)	(0.208)	(0.137)
Immigrant College 2yr	0.168	0.083	0.170	0.256*	0.400*	0.269*
	(0.362)	(0.309)	(0.345)	(0.147)	(0.208)	(0.146)
Immigrant College 4yr+	0.586**	0.550**	0.576**	0.549***	0.682***	0.552***
	(0.271)	(0.228)	(0.262)	(0.147)	(0.222)	(0.145)
Husband High school	-0.154*	-0.192**	-0.145*	0.120	0.119	0.109
	(0.080)	(0.092)	(0.078)	(0.134)	(0.166)	(0.143)
Husband College 2yr	0.129	0.093	0.141	0.598**	0.522**	0.593**
	(0.301)	(0.305)	(0.292)	(0.243)	(0.245)	(0.258)
Husband College 4yr+	0.361*	0.325	0.367*	0.740***	0.767***	0.731***
	(0.199)	(0.208)	(0.199)	(0.192)	(0.225)	(0.191)
Log Household Income	0.167	0.132	0.169	-0.127	-0.144	-0.136
	(0.119)	(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.168)	(0.154)	(0.162)
Number of Siblings	0.016	0.065	0.015	-0.139**	-0.136***	-0.137**
	(0.138)	(0.145)	(0.136)	(0.056)	(0.043)	(0.056)
Country Dummy	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Observations	1,093	1,093	1,093	1,210	1,210	1,210
Pseudo R-squared	0.027	0.904	0.027	0.041	0.900	0.042

* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01.

Note: The ages of the child, immigrant, and her husband, the immigrant's years of residence in South Korea and their squared, a dummy for living in a city, and a dummy for child's experience of living abroad are included in all specifications. For both the immigrant's and husband's education, lower than middle school graduate is the control. Robust standard errors in parentheses account for clustering at the country level.

Sources: National Survey of Multicultural Families 2015, World Value Survey.

In columns 2 and 5, the individual gender role attitude of the immigrant mother and her husband are included, and I also control country dummies to capture the unobserved heterogeneities that can possibly arise

from different source countries. As predicted, an immigrant mother's attitude is significant for daughters but not for sons, but the father's attitude is insignificant regardless of the child's sex. An immigrant's economic participation has a negative, albeit statistically insignificant, impact on both the daughter and son's aspirations for higher education.¹² Children with a more educated mother and father desire a higher level of education, while log household income is insignificant for both daughter and son. The effect of the number of siblings is negatively significant for sons, which seems to reflect divided quality investment from parents. For daughters, the effect is positive, but the magnitude is close to zero and is statistically insignificant.

In columns 3 and 6, I include a cultural proxy and individual gender role attitude of the immigrant mother and her husband, and both culture and the mother's gender role attitude are negatively significant only for daughters. However, the result has to be interpreted carefully. It means that even if immigrants have the same gender role attitude, if one of them is from a country representing more gender-equitable views, her daughter aspires to higher education. It may be the case that maternal effect on the daughter is not fully captured in an immigrant's gender role attitude. For example, how a daughter is raised will be different across countries, meaning a daughter will develop a different gender role attitude. In this case, the regression result can be interpreted as culture and maternal attitude having a distinctive effect on the daughter's educational aspiration. However, there are some other plausible explanations for this. First, the gender role attitude question from NSMF 2015 may not perfectly reflect an

¹² This seems inconsistent with previous literature indicating that the mother's employment leads her daughter to have an egalitarian gender role attitude (e.g., Johnston et al., 2014). However, Dhar et al. (2018) show that unlike mother's full-time employment, a mother's part-time employment may not induce her child to have gender-equitable views. Since only about 39% of working immigrants in my sample are in full-time employment, the negative and insignificant coefficient of mother's employment may be attributed to this.

immigrant's attitude because it is a categorical variable. Therefore, the remaining variations after controlling individual attitude can be captured in a cultural proxy. Second, gender role attitude responses may not represent the same degree of attitude across countries of origin. For instance, a woman from a gender-discriminatory country who has a neutral gender role attitude may respond as if she has gender-equitable views because when she answered the question, she considered people in her own country and thought that she has much more egalitarian views than them. If this is the case, even if individual attitude is controlled for, variations across countries of origin can remain and be captured in a cultural proxy. Although we cannot explore further to ascertain the validity of these explanations, the objective of the analysis is not to identify the simultaneous effect of culture and individual attitude. From the results of Table 5, it is sufficient to conclude that an immigrant's culture, either measured at country- or individual level, affects her daughter's desired level of education, which is likely to be associated with daughter's gender role attitude.

In column 1 of Table 5, moving from the culture of the most gender-discriminatory country to that of the most gender-egalitarian country is associated with a 4.2 percentage point of probability decrease in a daughter's desire to attain high school graduation, a 10.9 percentage point decrease in her desire attain 2-year college graduation, a 7.8 percentage point of increase in her desire to attain 4-year college graduation, a 2.5 percentage point of increase in her desire to attain a Master's degree, and a 4.8 percentage point of increase in her desire to attain a Ph.D., which accounts for 52.5% ($=4.2/8$), 41.9% ($=10.9/26$), 14.2% ($7.8/55$), 62.5% ($=2.5/4$), and 68.6% ($=4.8/7$) of the probability to answer each category, respectively. Similarly, in column 2, moving from the mother's attitude of the most gender-discriminatory to the most gender-egalitarian attitude is associated with a probability decrease of 1.2 percentage point regarding her

daughter's desire to attain high school graduation, a decrease of 3.1 percentage point in her desire to attain 2-year college graduation, an increase of 2.2 percentage point in her desire to attain 4-year college graduation, an increase of 0.7 percentage point in her desire to attain a Master's degree, and an increase of 1.4 percentage point in her desire to attain a Ph.D., which accounts for 15% ($=1.2/8$), 11.9% ($=3.1/26$), 4% ($=2.2/55$), 17.5% ($=0.7/4$), and 20% ($=1.4/7$) of the probability to answer each category, respectively.

5. Conclusion

This paper examines the effect of culture on the formation of first- and second-generation immigrant women's gender role attitude. The analyses are based on the National Survey of Multicultural Families 2015 and World Value Survey, which makes it possible to link the gender role attitude of immigrants in South Korea and people in their source countries.

The results show that the cultural effect is sizable on both gender role attitude formation and economic outcomes. The gender role attitude of a first-generation marriage immigrant woman is largely affected by the culture from her country of origin. Although an immigrant's experiences in South Korea leads her to have more gender-equitable views, this attitude is not affected by their South Korean husband and a couple's attitude does not become similar with a longer marital life. Culture also largely affects the first-generation's economic participation, which is consistent with the results of previous studies (Alesina et al., 2013; Antecol, 2000; Frank & Hou, 2015; Fernández, 2007; Fernández & Fogli, 2009; Gevrek et al., 2013). For second-generation immigrants, I explore their desired educational level, and show that gender-equitable culture from the mother makes a daughter aspire to higher education, while a son is not affected. Unlike a mother's

attitude, the father's attitude is insignificant, and the magnitude is much smaller for a child's desired educational level.

This paper adds evidence to the recent growing literature about cultural transmission with a distinct context in several aspects. First, South Korea is witnessing rising immigration and recent studies in sociology have reported that immigrants suffer from poor ethnic networks (Kim, 2012; Sung, 2011), which potentially weakens the cultural effect on their economic outcomes (Fernández & Fogli, 2009). Second, Korean's single ethnic identity causes immigrants to face strong acculturation pressure, and at the same time they find it hard to assimilate into the society (Hwang, 2015; Kim, 2012; Lee et al., 2015; Nahm & Jang, 2009; Sung, 2011; Yang & Kim, 2011; Yoo et al., 2008). Nonetheless, the findings in this paper are very similar with those from previous literature, reemphasizing the importance of culture on the formation of gender role attitude and its impact on economic outcomes. It will also be useful to help understand different characteristics of immigrants in South Korea across their source countries.

The intergenerational transmission of maternal attitude is presented in several studies (e.g., Dhar et al., 2018; Farré & Vella, 2013; Johnston et al., 2014), but some literature has reported that the father's cultural norms are also important (e.g., Fernández & Fogli, 2009; Dohmen et al., 2011; Gevrek et al., 2013). Thus, my findings, which suggest that transmission is mainly through maternal attitude, cannot be generalized. Further research should be conducted in various contexts to verify the reason why the father's culture is transmitted in some places and not in others.

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국문초록

본 연구는 한국의 1세대, 2세대 이민 여성의 성역할태도 형성에 미치는 문화의 영향을 분석한다. 분석을 위해 출신국가의 평균적인 성역할태도를 문화의 대리 변수로 삼았다. 분석 결과 1세대 이민 여성의 성역할태도와 이들 출신국가의 문화 사이에 강한 상관관계가 있으며, 남편이 이민여성의 태도 형성에 미치는 영향은 거의 없는 것으로 나타났다. 또한 성 평등한 국가 출신의 1세대 이민여성은 국내에서도 일을 할 확률이 높고 일하는 시간도 더 긴 것으로 추정되었다. 이들의 문화는 자녀에게도 영향을 미치며 이민여성이 성 평등한 국가 출신일수록, 혹은 성 평등한 태도를 가지고 있을수록 이들의 딸이 희망하는 학력수준이 높아진다. 한편, 한국인 남편의 성역할태도는 자녀의 희망학력수준에 영향을 미치지 않는 것으로 보아 성역할태도의 세대 간 이전이 주로 이민여성의 문화를 통해 이루어지는 것으로 판단된다.

주요어: 성역할태도, 문화의 전이, 결혼이민

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